

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

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AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 10532

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, XG

SUBJECT: THE SOVIETS AND ECPC: THE MORNING AFTER

1. SUMMARY. JUDGING BY SOVIET MEDIA PLAY AND INITIAL
PRIVATE REACTIONS IN MOSCOW, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS
PROBABLY GENUINELY SATISFIED WITH ECPC RESULTS, AND WILL
CONSIDER THE CONFERENCE ANOTHER QUALIFIED SUCCESS FOR
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ITS "PRINCIPLED, CONSISTENT" POLICY OF DETENTE AND PEACE-

FUL COEXISTENCE. POLITBURO HAS NOW "WHOLLY AND FULLY" APPROVED ACTIVITIES OF CPSU DELEGATION LED BY BREZHNEV, AND KRASNAYA ZVEZDA LEADER JULY 3 ADDS MILITARY SUPPORT. PREDICTABLY, COMMENTARY AND, EVEN MORE, REPORTING IS SKEWING RESULTS TO STRESS COMMON GOALS AND SOVIET ROLE IN WORLD AND MOVEMENT. AT SAME TIME, MAIN THEMES--DETENTE, UNITY OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, WESTERN ENEMIES OF DETENTE--ARE SAME AS BEFORE, AT HIGHER VOLUME. NO DOUBT ECPC PROVOKED DIVERGENCIES WITHIN LEADERSHIP ON TACTIS AND PERHAPS EVEN PRINCIPLE: THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE TO THIS EFFECT AND IT WOULD BE UNNATURAL IF NONE HAD APPEARED. NEVERTHELESS, IT SEEMS CLEAR EVEN NOW THAT ECPC, LIKE CSCE, APPEARED FROM THE BEGINNING AS A WORTHWHILE PROJECT WORTH PAYING SOMETHING FOR. PAYMENT HAS BEEN SOME MOVEMENT TOWARD MORE GENUINE RECOGNITION OF AUTONOMY OF OTHER PARTIES. HOWEVER, SUCH RECOGNITION HAS BEEN AROUND IN FORMAL TERMS FOR A LONG TIME, AND WE DOUBT ANYONE IN AUTHORITY CONSIDERS PRICE TOO HIGH FOR ANOTHER STRIKING FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESS. WE EXPECT SOVIETS TO CHISLE ON THE DEAL THEY HAVE MADE. END SUMMARY.

2. JULY 3 CENTRAL PRESS CARRIES STATEMENT THAT POLITBURO, HAVING HEARD REPORT OF ECPC DELEGATION HEADED BY BREZHNEV, "WHOLLY AND FULLY" (TSELIKOM I POLNOST'YU) APPROVES ITS ACTIVITIES, AND FLANKING LEADER IN KRASNAYA ZVEZDA REPORTS THAT "SOLDIERS OF SOVIET ARMY AND FLEET SHARE THE THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS" OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE, WHO "UNANIMOUSLY" APPROVES THE ECPC RESULTS.

3. CENTRAL PRESS COMMENTARY--PRAVDA AND IZVESTIYA LEADERS JULY 2 AS WELL AS KZ JULY 3--ARE TENDING TO SKEW CONFERENCE RESULTS ALONG PREDICTABLE LINES, WITH MORE EMPHASIS ON SOLIDARITY, COMMON TASKS AND GOALS AND THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CPSU IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND IN THE MOVEMENT, AND LESS EMPHASIS ON PARTY AUTONOMY, THAN APPEARED IN THE ECPC DOCUMENT OR EVEN IN BREZHNEV'S SPEECH. THE PRAVDA LEADER IN FACT WENT SO FAR AS TO SUBSTITUTE "ABOVE ALL THE SOVIET UNION" FOR THE DOCUMENT'S "BEGINNING WITH THE SOVIET UNION" (CORRECTED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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TODAY'S POLITBURO STATEMENT) AND TO COME RIGHT OUT AND SAY THAT PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM "IS" (YEST') WORKING CLASS AND COMMUNIST SOLIDARITY. STRAIGHT REPORTING AND REPLAYS FROM FOREIGN PRESS ARE EVEN MORE FORTRIGHT IN PUTTING BACK INTO THE CONFERENCE RESULTS SOME FAVORITE SOVIET THEMES WHICH DROPPED OUT OF THE DOCUMENT ON ITS WAY TO THE FORUM.

4. ON BALANCE, NEVERTHELESS, THE MAIN THEMES, ON THE MORNING AFTER, ARE THE SAME ONES WE HAVE BEEN HEARING FOR MONTHS, AND EVEN YEARS: PEACE, DETENTE, THE UNITY OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM (READ THE COMPATIBILITY OF DETENTE AND REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE), THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE STRAIGHT-LINE PROGRESSION OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY CONSISTENCY AND SUCCESS FROM LENIN THROUGH HELSINKI TO THE PRESENT. TWO OTHER THEMES--RESISTANCE TO THE WESTERN ENEMIES OF DETENTE, AND THEIR ARMS RACE, AND PARTY AUTONOMY--ARE MORE RECENT, BUT THEY ALSO APPEAR IN ALMOST EVERY ARTICLE. ONLY THE VOLUME HAS BEEN TURNED UP.

5. IT MAY BE WORTHWHILE TO EMPHASIZE THE CONSISTENCY OF THE SOVIET LINE, AND EVEN ITS GENERAL "CORRECTNESS" VIS-A-VIS THE WESTERN PARTIES, ON THE MORNING AFTER BERLIN. BERLINGUER'S SPEECH--PART QUOTE, PART PARAPHRASE--IS PRINTED IN PRAVDA JULY 3, AND IF IT APPEARS WITHOUT REFERRING TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND CHINA BY NAME, IT IS STILL PACKED WITH REFERENCES TO ABSOLUTE PARTY INDEPENDENCE AND THE "MISTAKES" OF THE PAST. TYPICALLY, VADIM ZAGLADIN IS EVEN MORE OPEN AND CONCILIATORY, WRITING AS "BORIS VESNIN" IN THE JULY 2 NOVOYE VREMYA, DATELINED "BERLIN, JUNE 28." TO BE SURE, THE THRUST IS PRIDE AT BRINGING THE CONFERENCE OFF DESPITE THE PREDICTIONS OF THE BOURGEOIS PRESS, BUT THE "E PLURIBUS UNUM" NOTE WHICH BREZHNEV STRUCK IN HIS CPSU PARTY CONGRESS SPEECH IN FEBRUARY RINGS THROUGH LOUD AND CLEAR. IN A BACKHANDED WAY, ZAGLADIN IS EVEN SPECIFIC, WHEN HE ATTACKS STRAUSS FOR PRONOUNCING ANATHEMA ON "SOCIALISM--ANY SOCIALISM, AS HE PUTS IT, SOVIET OR YUGOSLAV, THE ONE WHICH EXISTS IN THE GDR AND THE ONE WHICH EXISTS IN HUNGARY."

6. WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE LONG TRAVAIL OF ECPC
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RAISED VERY SERIOUS ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE AND POLITICAL PRACTICE WITHIN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND REQUIRED A SERIES OF DIFFICULT DECISIONS. AN ACADEMIC CONTACT WHO WORKED ON THE (BRIEF) ASIA PORTION OF BREZHNEV'S BERLIN SPEECH TOLD US JULY 2 THAT THE DRAFTING PROCESS HAD LASTED FOR MONTHS, AND THAT THERE WERE "DIFFERENT PEOPLE, DIFFERENT VIEWS" EVEN WITHIN THE SOVIET DELEGATION WHICH WENT TO BERLIN. EARLIER REPORTS ON BREZHNEV'S TALKS WITH BERLINGUER IN FEBRUARY, THE TO-AND FRO OVER SUSLOV'S MARCH STATEMENT HOSTILE TO NATIONAL DIVERSITY IN THE SOVIET PRESS, THE FACT THAT THE POLITBURO TOOK THE TROUBLE TO APPROVE THE DELEGATION'S ACTIVITIES "WHOLLY AND FULLY" (WHERE ONLY BREZHNEV'S SPEECH WAS APPROVED IN THE POST-HELSINKI STATEMENT LAST AUGUST): ALL SUGGEST POSSIBLE DIFFERENCES OF VIEWPOINT, AT LEAST ON TACTICS, PERHAPS

ALSO ON PRINCIPLE, ON THE PRICE TO BE PAID FOR CONVENING
THE ECPC. AND, THE BRITISH IN MOSCOW NOW HAVE A REPORT
QUOTING SEGRE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE CONCILIATORY CPSU
STANCE AT THE LAST MEETING JUNE 24 WAS ACHIEVED ONLY
OVER HEAVY INTERNAL OPPOSITION.

7. WE WILL BE SEEKING SOVIET VIEWS ON THESE DIVERGENCES--
THEIR EXTENT AND SERIOUSNESS--AS BEST WE CAN IN COMING

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WEEKS. WHAT SEEMS CLEAR EVEN NOW, HOWEVER, IS THAT THEY ARE UNLIKELY EVER TO HAVE OVERWHELMED THE LEADERSHIP CONSENSUS THAT THE CONFERENCE WAS LIKELY TO BE WORTHWHILE, ANOTHER SUCCESS FOR THE WELL-ESTABLISHED CONSENSUS LINE, AND WORTH PAYING SOMETHING TO GET.

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8. AS IN CSCE, THE SOVIETS HAVE PAID SOMETHING TO GET ECPC. THEY HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF SMALL STEPS TOWARD RECOGNITION--BOTH FORMAL AND, WE THINK, GENUINE--OF THE RIGHT OF OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES TO DETERMINE THEIR POLICIES. THIS HAS COST THEM SOMETHING AS PUTATIVE LEADERS OF WORLD COMMUNISM, IN THEIR OWN EYES AND THOSE OF OTHERS, AND PERHAPS EVEN AS PRACTICAL POLITICIANS (SINCE THEY CAN EXPECT COMMUNIST AUTONOMISTS TO QUOTE THE ECPC DOCUMENT AND THEIR OWN STATEMENTS BACK AT THEM AT EVERY RELEVANT OPPORTUNITY).

9. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE STEPS SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED, IN TERMS EITHER OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP OR OF SOVIET POLICY. OUR ACADEMIC CONTACT FOUND OUR REFERENCE TO A SOVIET "CONCESSION" ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM "INTERESTING," BUT HE OBJECTED PASSIONATELY WHEN WE CHARACTERIZED THE LANGUAGE ON PARTY AUTONOMY IN THE SAME TERMS. "WHO NEEDS RECOGNITION OF OUR PRIMACY? OTHER PARTIES FOUGHT FOR IT, BUT NOT US. IN 1956, IT WAS THE CHINESE WHO INSISTED ON MONOLITHIC COMMUNISM AFTER THE OCTOBER DECLARATION. IT IS AN UNNECESSARY IRRITANT." HOWEVER SELF-SERVING, THE STATEMENT IS CONSISTENT WITH ZAGLADIN'S OWN PUBLIC LINE QUOTING SOVIET RECOGNITION OF PARTY AUTONOMY BACK TO THE MID-1950'S, AND WITH SEGRE'S REPORT TO THE BRITISH THAT ON JUNE 24 IT WAS THE CZECHOSLOVAKS AND THE BULGARIANS, RATHER THAN THE SOVIETS, WHO WERE TOUGH.

10. THUS, OUR PRELIMINARY JUDGMENT IS THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP SEES ECPC AS ANOTHER QUALIFIED SUCCESS FOR THE "PEACE POLICY" IN EUROPE UNVEILED AT THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1971. THEY WENT INTO THE FINALE WITH THEIR EYES OPEN, AND ENCOUNTERED NO SURPRISES. WE CAN EXPECT THAT THE SOVIETS WILL PROCEED TO USE THE RESULTS SELECTIVELY. THEY WILL DO THEIR BEST TO MINIMIZE IN PRACTICE THE PRICE THEY HAVE PAID AND TO RECOUP ON THE DEBIT SIDE OF THE CONFERENCE LEDGER. FOR THE TIME BEING, THEY ARE PROBABLY SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS; WHETHER THEY STAY SATISFIED WILL DEPEND ON HOW MUCH AND HOW LONG THE PRICE MUST CONTINUE TO BE PAID.

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